

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0226

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TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF JULY 15, 1975

(SALT TWO-671)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JULY 15, 1975.

QUOTE

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JULY 15, 1975

AT PRESENT BOTH SIDES, THE USSR AND THE U.S., ARE UNDER-
TAKING EFFORTS AIMED AT EMBODYING THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED
IN VLADIVOSTOK IN THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR THE PERIOD UNTILL THE END OF
1985, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE
OF DECEMBER 10, 1974.

THE JOINT STATEMENT ON THE RECENT MEETING IN GENEVA

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BETWEEN A.A. GROMYKO, MEMBER OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE CENTRAL

COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR, AND HENRY KISSINGER, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE AND ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, SHOWS THE SPECIAL ATTENTION WHICH THEY DEVOTED TO DISCUSSING PRECISELY THIS MATTER. BOTH SIDES BELIEVE THAT THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WAS CONSTRUCTIVE AND USEFUL FROM THE STANDPOINT OF FURTHER DEVELOPING SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS IN CONFORMITY WITH THE COURSE THEY HAVE EMBARKED ON TOGETHER AND THE CONCRETE AGREEMENTS REACHED DURING THE SOVIET-U.S. SUMMIT MEETINGS.

ALL THIS IS AN ENCOURAGING SIGN AND AT THE SAME TIME UNDERSCORES THAT A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY DEVOLVES UPON THE DELEGATIONS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S. IN TERMS OF IMPLEMENTING THE AFOREMENTIONED UNDERSTANDING.

AT THE NEGOTIATIONS PRIOR TO THE WORKING RECESS THE DELEGATIONS ACCOMPLISHED CERTAIN WORK IN CLARIFYING THE VIEWS OF THE SIDES, IN WORKING OUT AGREED PROVISIONS, AND IN SEARCHING FOR POSSIBILITIES TO BRING THE POSITIONS ON INDIVIDUAL ISSUES CLOSER TOGETHER; THIS IS REFLECTED IN THE JOINT DOCUMENT OF MAY 7, 1975. DURING THE RECESS THE SIDES HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO CARRY OUT FURTHER ANALYSES.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY MUST COMPLETE WORKING OUT THE NEW AGREEMENT WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF SIGNING IT IN 1975, THE DELEGATIONS FACE THE TASK OF WORKING IN A CONSTRUCTIVE AND BUSINESSLIKE MANNER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE TIME FACTOR AS WELL.

TO IMPART AN IMPETUS TO OUR WORK AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO ENSURING PROGRESS AT THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIET SIDE, IMMEDIATELY UPON RESUMPTION OF OUR DISCUSSIONS, UNDERTOOK A NUMBER OF CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS AIMED AT ACHIEVING THIS OBJECTIVE. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE WISHES OF THE U.S. SIDE, THE USSR DELEGATION TABLED THE TEXT OF NEW SOVIET WORDING OF ARTICLE XVIII, PARAGRAPH 2, CONCERNING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION WITH RESPECT TO THE NEW AGREEMENT. ON JULY 9, 1975 THE USSR DELEGATION TABLED A NEW PROPOSAL ON DEFINITIONS OF THE STRATEGIC WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES TO BE LIMITED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE

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EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD. SOME OTHER PROPOSALS OF OURS WERE ALSO TABLED AND SPECIFIC ISSUES WERE IDENTIFIED WHICH COULD ALREADY NOW BE DISCUSSED IN THE KARPOV-KLOSSON WORKING GROUP WITH THE GOAL OF WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WORDING FOR INCLUSION IN THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT BEING PREPARED.

ALL THESE ARE BUSINESSLIKE INITIATIVES. THE U.S. SIDE HAS EXPRESSED READINESS TO WORK TOWARD OVERCOMING STILL REMAIN-

ING DIFFERENCES. WE WOULD WELCOME SUCH A DEVELOPMENT.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT BOTH SIDES ARE EQUALLY INTERESTED IN HAVING THE LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE NEW AGREEMENT RETAIN THEIR VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE TERM OF THAT DOCUMENT, I.E. UNTIL THE END OF 1985. THIS ENSUES FROM THE CONTENT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD, AS WELL AS FROM THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST CONSTITUTE A MAJOR STEP IN FURTHER LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND CURBING THE RACE IN SUCH ARMS.

THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT MUST BE SUCH THAT, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY ACCEPTED BY BOTH SIDES, IT PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF UNDERMINING OR CIRCUMVENTING THE OBLIGATIONS TO BE ASSUMED BY THE PARTIES THERETO. INCLUSION IN THE AGREEMENT OF PRECISE FORMULATIONS ON THIS SCORE WOULD BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE, FOR THESE ARE ISSUES BEARING ON THE SUPREME SECURITY INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES.

AS FAR AS CAN BE JUDGED, AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WHICH HAS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE, A COMMON POINT OF VIEW OF THE SIDES ON THIS QUESTION HAS BECOME EVIDENT.

THE SET OF MEASURES WHICH, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, IS TO BECOME PART OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, UNDOUBTEDLY MUST SERVE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS OBJECTIVE. WE HAVE MORE THAN ONCE CITED ARGUMENTS CONCERNING THE NEED TO INCORPORATE THE PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN ARTICLES IX AND X OF THE JOINT DOCUMENT OF MAY 7, 1975 IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN ITS VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS.

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AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD THIS GOAL WOULD BE FOR THE SIDES TO UNDERTAKE NOT TO TRANSFER STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO OTHER STATES AND NOT TO ASSIST IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT, IN PARTICULAR, BY TRANSFERRING COMPONENTS, TECHNICAL DESCRIPTIONS OR BLUEPRINTS FOR THESE ARMS.

AS YOU KNOW, THE QUESTION OF NON-TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC ARMS IS NOT NEW AT OUR NEGOTIATIONS. IT HAS BEEN WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE SIDES SINCE 1969 AND HAS BEEN RESOLVED IN A

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SPECIFIC WAY, THE VIABILITY OF WHICH HAS BEEN PROVEN, DURING PREPARATION AND CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF ABM SYSTEMS.

IN ITS APPROACH TO INCLUDING IN THE NEW AGREEMENT A PROVISION ON NON-TRANSFER, THE SOVIET SIDE IS GUIDED BY THE VITAL NECESSITY OF RESOLVING THIS ISSUE WITH RESPECT TO STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE LANGUAGE OF ARTICLE XIV OF THE WORKING DOCUMENT OF MAY 7, 1975 FULLY TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE SPECIFICS AND PARTICULARS OF LIMITATIONS ON PRECISELY STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

IN PROPOSING TO INCORPORATE A PROVISION ON NON-TRANSFER IN THE NEW AGREEMENT, THE SOVIET SIDE IS GUIDED BY THE INTERESTS COMMON TO BOTH SIDES.

RETENTION OF THE POSSIBILITY TO TRANSFER STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO OTHER STATES AND TO ASSIST IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT WOULD, REGARDLESS OF THE INTENTIONS OR CALCULATIONS OF THE SIDE ENGAGING IN SUCH ACTIVITIES, CREATE CONDITIONS FOR A BUILDUP
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IN STRATEGIC ARMS IN THIRD STATES, AND WOULD OBJECTIVELY PROMOTE A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO INTENSIFYING INTERNATIONAL TENSION WITH ALL THE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES ENSUING THEREFROM. AND CONVERSELY, INCLUSION OF A PROVISION ON NON-TRANSFER IN THE NEW AGREEMENT WOULD BE OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ENSURING THE STABILITY OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION, MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE AND AVERTING THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR, WHICH IS THE DECLARED GOAL OF BOTH THE USSR AND THE U.S.

MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES ON NON-TRANSFER WOULD ALSO BE IN ACCORD WITH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF WHICH THERE IS COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S., WHO ARE THE DEPOSITARY STATES OF THAT INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENT WHICH PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN LIMITING THE ARMS RACE.

THUS, ASSUMPTION BY THE SIDES OF OBLIGATIONS ON NON-TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO OTHER STATES WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, NOT ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF BILATERAL SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, BUT ALSO IN BROADER TERMS. INCLUSION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT OF A PROVISION ON NON-TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO OTHER STATES WOULD CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROCESS OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE, AND WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE TASK OF COMPLEMENTING POLITICAL DETENTE BY MILITARY DETENTE; THIS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE MET WITH WORLD APPROVAL.

WE HAVE NOTED THAT THE U.S. SIDE, IN PARTICULAR ON APRIL 12, 1973, SPOKE TO THE EFFECT THAT IT WOULD NOT PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSIDERING SPECIFIC PROVISIONS ON NON-TRANSFER AFTER THERE IS AGREEMENT ON THE SCOPE AND NATURE OF THE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. NOW, WHEN AS A RESULT OF THE SUMMIT MEETING IN VLADIVOSTOK, AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE CONTENT OF FURTHER MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH IS PRECISELY RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, AND WHEN THE DELEGATIONS HAVE SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS TO PREPARE THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT THIS YEAR, RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF NON-TRANSFER MUST BE CONSIDERED IN PRACTICAL TERMS. IN THIS CON-
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NECTION I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE ESPECIALLY THAT THE MUTUAL NATURE OF THE OBLIGATIONS ON NON-TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH ARE PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR OF CONSISTENTLY EMBODYING IN THE NEW AGREEMENT THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

THE U.S. DELEGATION, AT THE APRIL 22, 1975 MEETING AMONG OTHERS, HAS STATED ITS INTENTION TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF NON-TRANSFER. THE USSR DELEGATION ANTICIPATES THAT THE U.S. SIDE WILL SET FORTH ITS CONSIDERATIONS ON THIS MATTER.

UNQUOTE

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